1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore p' eaku en-nēă en-gima, nējōkīni 'l-muran, amu eitashe pōkin ti-aulo: 'Eidipe.'

Nekwet il-muran pōkin samurutōkīno idya-mōuo.

Ore ol-oitera abaĭki, nepik eng-aina atwa en-gima, neitau e-mōuo, neitório eng-aina, neitadol il-kulikae idya-mōuo, nējo: 'Aidipa.'

Ōnaa, neidipayu e-unoto.

When the fire is dying down, the warriors standing outside are called, and told that, 'it is finished.'

They all run towards the spot, racing to get the horn.

The one who arrives first puts his hand in the fire, and, taking out the horn, stretches out his arm. He shows it to the others, and cries out: 'I have finished it.'

With this the E-unoto feast terminates.

Nebarni ol-aunōni te-inna-oloñg o ol-aigwenani ōatai opa ake eton eitu emurati.

The Aunoni, or chief, is shaved on the same day together with the Aigwenani, or Counsellor, who was elected before the feast of circumcision.

Nebarni si ninje 'l-kulikae-muran too-'n-gulye-oloñgi.

Afterwards the warriors may be shaved whenever they wish.

Ore p' eidipi aatuun, nēyeñgisho 'l-muran, netoni 'l-apaĭtin ooñgwan ana imyet, nepwo en-jore naji En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto.

When the warriors have elected their chief, they slaughter cattle, and wait for four or five months, at the expiration of which they proceed on a raid. This is called The (fulfilment) of the vow *or* The (selection) of the chief.

Neishop 'l-karash ooji aii 'N-dorosi, nepik il-arash.

They wear cotton cloths[1], called The vow[2], on which are sewn the seeds of the ekirikiti tree[3].

Nepik aii 'n-gāk e-'syaĭti 'murto naaji 'mangāk, ne'ya 'l-kulikae 'l-kidoñgi lo-'l-kumbau araki 'l-lenyok le-menye.

They also wear necklaces made of twigs of the e-syaĭti tree[4], and called Mangāk, and some carry their fathers' snuff-boxes or fans with them.

[1] Before cotton cloths were introduced, dressed skins sewn together were worn. 'N-dorosi garments are worn like the Spanish poncho, a slit being made in the middle for the head to pass through.

[2] A raid undertaken after a long peace is also called en-oo-'n-dorosi. Any warrior who shirks his duties on an occasion of this sort can be put to death, and his murderer will not be punished.

[3] *Erythrina tomentosa*, R. Br.

[4] *Acalypha fruticosa*, Forsk.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow as 'we can always tell the *launon* what order to give ".

c) The sacrifice of a bull is then performed with great ceremonial. HOLLIS, [99] describes the contest in which the candidates compete in getting hold of a horn which was previously thrown into a fire.

With reference to this sacrifice a special officer is appointed. He is called *aboruengene*; he has a ceremonial status and must prepare the hide-rings from the skin of the bull. He is also described by the author of *MS.* 48 as " the official charmmaker of the *moran* ". His function, however, seems to be limited to *Unoto*.

Great emphasis is laid by WHITEHOUSE, [100] on what he calls " the fire-drilling ceremony ", which as Fosbrooke also says, " must in fact be the *unoto* ". The ceremony is described by Whitehouse in connection with the first erection of the segregated village of the initiates or *manyatta*. [101]

The fire is ceremonially lighted by the elders, and it must be carried into the new awellings of the village. The next morning after this ceremony, the candidates who have become senior initiates are blessed, and prayers to the black God are offered for them. [102]

At the *unoto*, the *aunon* first, and then the other initiates, shave their hair. Pig-tails, however, are again fitted after the ceremony.

Some (four or five) months after the ceremony, when the senior

[99] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 300 ss.

[100] WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, p. 153.

[101] This circumstance supports MERKER's statement that one of the privileges demanded by the junior initiates is the building of their own segregated village, *l. c.*, pp. 35 ss.

[102] It is of some interest to reproduce here from WHITEHOUSE, the prayer recited by the elders on this occasion. It shows clearly how the senior initiates are about to enter the most important stage of their life as members of Masai society. This is the prayer: " Be trustworthy, Oh, return safely, O God. — Become ye ours and of God. — May the illness pass you by. — Wish those who hate us that they may find dry rives on their journeys. — Lenana and Sufeit and Mbatian wish the safe return. — Grow up. Become possessed of wise heads. Become as great as the Kilimanjaro. — Be the fathers of my children, and bring them up well. Have many wives. — May God love you. May the red bull of the night guard thee. May our age be the bravest ". The expression of the first verse " return safely " probably refers to the raid which fullows *unoto*. Lenana, Sufeit, Mbatian were prophets.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

884 721 561

initiates have returned from a meat festival in the bush a raid is organised. According to HOLLIS this is called, "the (fulfilment) of the vow" or "the (selection) of the chief" (*En-oo-'n-dorosi araki En-e-'unoto*).[163]

The main reason for this raid, is the strong desire of the new senior initiates to show their ability and enjoy the satisfaction of the military efficiency they have reached.

At the *unoto* the age-unit assumes a new name.[164]

884 561

Unoto if seen with relation to the social status of the initiates is undoubtedly a promotion ceremony. Junior become senior initiates. But if we consider the ceremony in connection with the institution of the age-unit, we find that *Unoto* brings together all those who have been individually initiated during previous years. In other words it merges into one body the three minimal divisions, it gives them a corporate status and institutes the age-unit. The performance of individual initiation is not ended with *Unoto*. It still takes place, but irregularly, and all those initiated at this time form the fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, as reported by MERKER.[165] The ceremony closing the age-unit's legal period for individual initiation is *Endungore*, which, as we have seen, is performed by the *piron*-elders of the next age-unit.

561

Thus the institution of the age-unit is brought about by three different ceremonies, namely, *Engibata* as the opening ceremony, *Unoto* as the instituting ceremony, and *Endungore* as the closing ceremony.

The closing value of *Endungore* is due to the negative aspect of this ceremony as we noted.

The point raised by the interval between all these various ceremonies is most confusing. The reason for this is that the interval is defined by all our authorities in terms which are foreign to Masai age-system. Therefore, we must accept the number of years which they suggest as more or less broad approximations.

[163] "The (fulfilment) of the vow" is not a special term for the raid which follows *unoto*, but is applied to any raid undertaken after a long peace. Cf. HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 301, n. 3.

[164] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449, writes that "the present (1939) age (unit) of Purko warriors was called *il-tiegi* prior to the *E-Unoto* when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

[165] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 27, speaks of a "hiatus" between the age-units, and we think that such hiatus is that period which runs between the *Unoto* and the *Endungore-Engibata*.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

527
561

they last for three or four days and generally take place before a raid. [136]

701

At this point it is relevant to discuss the relationship of military organisation and the age units. MERKER, [136] gives a description of Masai military organization. He assumes the existence of a standing army (das stehende Heer), in which he distinguishes the recruits, the warriors and the reserve.

The recruits are " the shaved ones " (*el barnot*). [137] These, together with " the warriors " (*el moran* = initiates) [138] constitute the peace-time force (Friedensstärke), under conscription. [139]

The junior elders come into action in time of war but they may be reckoned as members of the standing army (" ... kann man als Reserve ansehen und mit zum stehenden Heer rechnen... "). The senior elders take arms only in defence of their own territorial areas and sections (Distrikt).

The above description appears to be very formal. [140] It shows, however, that military activity is not confined to the initiates but extends to the classes of elders. And this is a relevant point. We can say, therefore, that the initiates become warriors not to the exclusion of the other classes above them. A further point brought out by MERKER's description is the distinction between an offensive army constituted by the so called recruits, the warriors and the reserve, and a defensive army in which the senior elders are also incorporated.

721
701

It would be of great interest to know how the organisation of a raid or any other military action is formed, and whether there is any relationship between such an organisation and the *manyatta*

[136] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 84. See also HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 317. At p. 292, n. 1, he states that " il *puli* are special places erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle ".

[138] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73.

[137] " The shaved ones ", (*ol barnoti*, pl. *el barnot*), is the term applied to those who have just come out of their individual initiation and have been given the warriors' arms. They are the junior initiates.

[138] We may assume that the general term " warriors " as used by MERKER at this place (see also p. 56) refers to the senior initiates.

[139] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 73, regards circumcision as a kind of compulsory conscription (... seiner — der allgemeinen — Wehrpflicht ins Heer...).

[140] One may note here that it is MERKER's tendency to describe Masai customs in a way which fits his own scheme. As known, his thesis on the semitic origin of the Masai has so influenced his way as to make his informations in many a case unreliable.

[114]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. MERKER, [141] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tactical or strategical point of view.

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding in war for his courage and he " kills many savages " (HOLLIS (a) he is called " the bull ", *ol oingok*; if he is liberal and through the assistance of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his comrades, he is called " the benefactor ", *N-gamini*. These distinctions as described by MERKER, [142] would suggest the existence of special offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play a leading role (eine führende Rolle), and are the leaders in the fight (" Sie sind die Anführer im Kampf "); " the benefactors " retain a special position (eine besondere stellung). It seems, however, that there are no such institutionalised office as " the Bulls " and " the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion also of HOLLIS, [143] when he states that " the warriors are fond of the titles *'L-oingok* (the bulls) and *'N-gamini* (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen* ".

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude, is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are instituted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal divisions merge into a single age-unit.

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the *manyatta* and the *sirit* are organised. The *sirit ol bul*, or the grouping for the meat festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due to this principle.

The military principle seems to give a special military aspect to the *sirit* proper, as found in the *manyatta*, and, apparently, the same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of special partnership between two fighting warriors.

Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as mentioned above, who organise their age mates in the performance of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[141] MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 93 ss.
[142] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 86.
[143] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 298.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country. [146]

But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least. [147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid. [148] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders. [149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE'S description *l. c.*, p. 91. He says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324–330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The medicine-men. [791]

The Laibon.

The prowess displayed by the pastoral Masai "Muran" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually Europeans penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the mobs which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,600 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 43,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai as a stockman. [233] [921] ● [648] ✕ [730]

[131]

[161] [434] [471] [461]

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Behmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's description—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Nairasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Mathaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Province in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 Origin of the Masai.

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 Pastoral and agricultural sections.

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

[361]

Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 Sir Charles Eliot's theory.

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 European influence.

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

[921]

101 Wakwavi.

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

*648 Turkana raid on Masai, June, 1912.

2. A large party of Turkana raided Kune, about forty miles north of Rumuruti, in June, 1912, and carried off cattle estimated by the District Commissioner to number 158 head. One Masai elder was killed. Fifty-eight of the cattle were recovered by the District Commissioner, Turkana. A patrol which toured Turkana at the beginning of 1913 captured from them a number of cattle, and one hundred head of the captured stock was reserved as compensation for the Masai. Owing, however, to an outbreak of disease, it became necessary to sell the remainder, and eventually, at the end of 1915, Rs. 3,621 were paid to the Masai, a further Rs. 1,500 being subsequently added in compensation for loss and as blood money.

*648 509 721 Raids on Samburu, June, 1912, October, 1912

3. In June, 1912, the Samburu of the Embarta plains were raided by a small party of Masai. On the 28th of October, the Samburu in the same place were again raided by similar people. No trace of the stolen cattle was found, though it was reported on reliable information that they had been taken into the Southern Masai Reserve.

*648 563 Forcible removal of Masai into German territory, July, 1912.

4. In July, 1912, a number of Masai Wandorobo living near the border were raided by German patrols and were forcibly removed with their stock across the border into German territory. A meeting was arranged between Herr Altmann, Imperial Secretary of Schirati District, and the District Commissioner, South Kavirondo District, when the affair was investigated on the spot where the outrage was supposed to have been committed, but with no good results.

Further enquiries were made and the assistance of the German Governor was solicited, but the evidence obtained was inconclusive, and as it was stated that the Wandorobo in question had, until shortly before the incident, lived in German territory the matter was allowed to drop.

*648 509 [721] Raids on Nyeri and Kikuyu in Nyeri District, August and September, 1912.

5. On August 1st, 1912, the sub-district of Sigania in the Nyeri District was raided, five men were killed and ninety head of cattle taken.

On September 5th, a trading party of Kikuyu were attacked at the Siki River on the Nyeri-Meru road. One Kikuyu youth was killed.

On September 20th and 22nd raids were attempted on Kikuyu kraals close to Nyeri.

Murder of two Kikuyu, September, 1912.

6. In September, 1912, two Kikuyu natives were murdered by the Masai near Lenana's old kraal some fifteen miles from Nairobi. Two Masai were arrested, convicted, and hung for the offence.

Friction with the Lumbwa, October, 1912.

7. In October, 1912, while the Masai move was in progress, a certain amount of friction was noticeable between the Masai and the natives from Lumbwa and Sotik and raids were reported from Ol-Orokuti and Norgunono. A patrol under Captain W. B. Brook operated in Sotik country along the Mara River to keep such raids in check.

Raids and murders towards the end of 1912.

8. Several isolated raids and murders which took place during the last few months of 1912 were traced to parties of unidentified warriors, believed to belong to the Purko and Loita divisions of the Masai who were then settled on the western boundary of the Southern Masai Reserve. Five such incidents were reported, namely :—

(1) The murder of two Lumbwa men and one woman on the south side of the Mara River close to Lemek Valley.

[721]

(2) An attempted theft, on the 16th of December, of forty head of cattle from Mr. Johnson's farm, during which attempt three Lumbwa were killed.

(3) An attempted theft in Uregi, a location in the South Kavirondo District, in the course of which one native of that location was killed. One of the natives implicated in this affair was a Purko, who alleged he had been accompanied by a Loita.

[721]

(4) A raid into German territory among natives known as Ngoroimi, in the course of which fifty head of cattle were stolen and a woman and child were killed.

(5) An alleged theft of ten head of cattle from natives in German territory. This was probably the work of some other tribe.

As it proved impossible to discover the identity of the offenders in these cases, the probability of the guilt of the Muran of the Purko and Loita divisions, enhanced by their refusal to render assistance in locating the criminals, was considered sufficient to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, and the Secretary of State approved the collection of a fine of one hundred head of cattle on each village of the two sections. There were, in all, one Loita and four Purko villages,* and after the payment of compensatory blood money to the relatives of the deceased, it was decided to devote the remainder of the fine collected to the undertaking of works for the improvement of the reserve.

The imposition of this fine served largely as an object lesson to the Masai indicating that raids must cease. A military patrol then operating in the Sotik and Masai country and in the Chepalungu Forest was detained in the area with a view to ensuring the collection of the fine. Some slight trouble was caused by the younger Muran, but the full number of cattle was obtained by the end of February, 1913, and about one hundred head were disposed of as blood money. This is the first occasion on which a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was imposed on the Masai.

Raid into German territory, December, 1912.

9. In December, 1912, a raid was made into German territory by some Masai, in the course of which 92 head of cattle and three donkeys belonging to a German planter named Koenig were stolen and an Arab and two Wanikuma were killed. Very little evidence in connection with the matter was adduced by the German Authorities, and it was not until February, 1914, that any witnesses were forthcoming who could identify the stolen stock. The Masai chiefs and elders took no steps to discover the identity of the perpetrators of the raid, and there was no direct evidence to connect any individuals with the offences committed. Fines were therefore inflicted in May, 1914, to the extent of 150 head of cattle on the Salei division; 50 head of cattle on the L'Otayok Muran; 50 head of cattle on the Kisarani "Sirit" of the Purko Muran.

Herr Koenig was to be awarded the sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation from the proceeds of the sale of the cattle, but the outbreak of hostilities prevented this payment and the money so reserved was devoted to the reimbursement of certain Masai for loss incurred at the hands of German natives, *vide* Incident No. 21. The balance of the fine was utilised in the demarcation of the reserve and in the irrigation of Narok Station.

Murders near Rumuruti, January, 1913.

10. Two porters belonging to a shooting party were murdered on the Gilgil-Rumuruti road about four miles from Rumuruti on the 1st of January, 1913, by Muran from the extended Southern Reserve who had returned to Laikipia to assist their relatives with the movement of cattle. The murderers in this case were captured and convicted, but, in order to prevent further similar outrages, steps were taken to restrict the movement of Masai from the Southern Reserve.

Iron bolts on Magadi Railway, January, 1913.

11. Complaints made by the Railway Magistrate, Magadi Railway, that on five occasions iron bolts and similar heavy pieces of metal had been placed on the rails led to suspicion falling on the neighbouring Masai who were thought to have wished to flatten the bolts for spear heads and knife blades. One slight accident was caused, and as the practice continued, two Masai villages near the Railway were removed.

Murder of Lumbwa and Kavirondo January, 1913.

12. About January, 1913, two murders were committed on different dates but in the same locality. The victims were a Lumbwa and a Kavirondo respectively who were returning to their homes by a track passing through a portion of the Masai Reserve. About this time, considerable ill-feeling and mutual suspicion existed between the Masai and Lumbwa tribes, more especially among the Muran, and the Masai are known to have been responsible for the murders of some six Lumbwa between August and December, 1912. (*Vide* Incident No. 8).

No great hostility existed between the Kavirondo and the Masai, but the desire of the Muran of the latter tribe to blood their spears is so keen that they would have no scruples on that account.

* Loita village called Kisarani. Purko villages called Njeuri, Kisarani, Il Motioko and Il Kipelyani.

*G48 579

The only natives of the warrior class who lived within thirty miles of the locality where the murders were committed were the Muran of the Kisaruni "Sirit" of the Purko division and the officer-in-charge of the Masai Reserve was convinced that the outrages in question had been perpetrated by this division, that the murderers were perfectly well-known to the Masai in general and, in fact, that they openly boasted of their prowess. All attempts to identify the culprits were, however, unavailing.

A fine of 150 heifers under the Collective Punishments Ordinance was accordingly inflicted on the Muran of that "Sirit," who numbered about four hundred and fifty souls. Fifty head of cattle from the proceeds of the fine were utilized in the construction of a road from Mara Bridge to Gelegele Hill, connection being thus effected between the Mara River and Kisii Stations.

[921]

Raid on the Moshi District, February, 1912

13. Two members of the Laitokitok division were suspected of being the perpetrators of a raid on the farm of a Boer named Malan, residing on the Engare Nairobi in the Moshi district, which was carried out on the 10th of February, 1913. Fourteen head of cattle stolen from the farm were traced into British territory near Longido, but no evidence was adduced and the cattle were not identified.

Masai raid on Bok, February, 1912.

14. A series of thefts occurred in the neighbourhood of Laikipia towards the end of 1912 and in the early part of 1913, and an unsuccessful raid on the Sek was carried out at a place eight miles from Baringo on the 18th of February, 1912. Seven Muran took part, one of whom was killed, and although no definite evidence was forthcoming, it was thought that the culprits belonged to the Laikipia Masai Wandorobo. Arrangements were made for a military patrol to drive the bush country near Lake Hannington. (*Vide* Incident No. 16).

Reserve boundaries broken, April, 1912.

15. In spite of police efforts to prevent such a movement, certain Masai owners of Manyattas broke back on lands adjacent to farms in the vicinity of Elmenteita and Nakuru in April, 1913. In several cases such Masai were convicted, and in particular, sixteen Elders and ten Muran were fined five bullocks each for each of two offences, namely, the contravention of the Native Passes Regulations as applied to the Masai Reserve and of the Diseases of Animals Ordinance, 1906.

*G48 579 721

Cattle thefts on Laikipia, April, 1912.

16. A large number of undetected cattle thefts occured on Laikipia during the first half of the year 1913, while the exodus to the Southern Reserve was in progress and at a time when the Masai were moving freely between the reserves. Details of each case are not obtainable but the following particulars have been recorded :—

On April 17th, eighty-three trade oxen were stolen from near Rumuruti by a band of fifteen natives suspected of being Masai or Masai Wandorobo from a Manyatta some twenty miles north-east of Baringo. Of the four Somalis herding the cattle, two were injured.

Twenty-six cows were stolen from a herd of seventy-seven belonging to Murray Brothers which was under the supervision of the veterinary authorities at Rumuruti. In this case the raiders were said to be Masai living near Archer's Post.

Sixty-nine head of cattle were stolen in broad daylight on the 24th of April. The thieves were said to be Manuyi Masai from near Meru, and the tracks of the stolen cattle were traced to the junction of the Northern Uaso Narok and Uaso Nyiro.

Seventy-nine head of cattle were driven off from near Rumuruti when in charge of a Somali named Ali Hassan.

Three similar incidents occurred in May when one hundred and thirty-four head were looted.

Laikipia patrol, June, 1912.

In May, 1913, a patrol of the King's African Rifles, which had been operating in Marakwet country, was relieved by police and was recalled to Gilgil. Immediately on arrival, the Officer in Command, Lieutenant E. A. B. Orr, was instructed to tour the Laikipia country with the object of recovering the cattle that had been stolen—which amounted in all to some two hundred and ninety head—and of removing from the area any Wandorobo who might be found on Laikipia.

*648

within five miles on either side of the Kajiado-Longido road, and thus make way for the military transport animals. The Masai had taken no steps to comply with these instructions by the middle of January and the Officer-in-Charge of the Transport asked that they might be enforced. The rendering of this large area unavailable for the Masai occurred inopportunely as, owing to the fact that the long rains of 1914 had terminated unusually early while the small rains had failed completely, a serious drought took place during the early part of 1918, and the grazing throughout the reserve became inadequate. Application was accordingly made for permission for the Masai to graze their herds on alienated farms near the railway, on the Kenani Fibre Estates, by payment of rent and on certain Crown lands. This permission was granted in March, 1918, and the Masai were also allowed access to an area on the Mau Narok as well as to the Kedong River by arrangement with the Manager of the Kedong Valley Syndicate. These concessions remained in force until February, 1916, when the grazing in the reserve was considered sufficient to support the Masai herds.

*648 519 ● 721

Raid into German territory.

30. The Laitokitok Masai, some of whom were armed with rifles, made a raid into German territory during the time their country was in the occupation of the military forces and are reported to have looted a number of cattle some of which were the property of certain Greeks. It is possible that the raid may have been carried out as a retaliatory measure for the raid made on them by the Germans and Wachaggs. (*Vide* Incident No. 22.)

Raid into German territory, February, 1918.

31. In February, 1918, a party of five Muran of whom three were from German and two of the L'Odo Kilani division from British territory, raided a cattle boma belonging to a German planter at Ngotiek on the Osobugo L'eol Tatua. Fifty-five head of cattle were captured and it is believed that one German and several natives were killed. The cattle were taken to the head Muran of the L'Odo Kilani division who delivered them over to the Government. They were eventually confiscated and the proceeds of sale were credited to Miscellaneous Revenue.

Raid on the Ngoroimi, April, 1918.

32. Early in April, 1918, some two hundred Muran of the Pelyani section of the Purko Muran crossed the border on a raiding expedition against the Ngoroimi of German East Africa. They succeeded in capturing about one hundred head of cattle, but lost eighteen killed and fifteen wounded at the hands of two German askaris. Though all Masai Muran had been constantly warned against making raids on their own account, and though it had been explained to them that the Germans would probably retaliate, it appears that the prospect of military glory and of looting cattle was irresistible. In this case the offence of these Muran was aggravated by their adoption of a most hostile attitude towards the individual who reported the raid, and it was the firm opinion of Legalishu and Masikondi that a caution would not be sufficient deterrent from similar action in future. A fine of 150 bullocks was accordingly imposed upon the Pelyani section this being estimated to represent approximately the value of the cattle looted.

*648 German raid south of Lake Magadi, June, 1918.

33. About the beginning of June, 1918, the Germans carried out a raid on the Masai residing near Ol Shombole and the German boundary south of Lake Magadi. Nine mounted Europeans took part guided by an Arusha native; two Masai kraals were attacked and about five hundred head of cattle were taken. An attempt was made by the Muran to recover the cattle, but this resulted in four Masai being killed and two wounded. It is possible that this raid may have been undertaken in retaliation for raids by the British Masai into German territory. The counter-raid which was organised by the Masai forms the subject of Incident No. 48.

Proposed trough construction along the Magadi Railway.

34. As a result of the German raid described in Incident No. 33, the Masai living in the vicinity of Ol Shombole, who were mostly of the Salei division, moved northwards towards the Magadi Railway and it became necessary to make arrangements for the provision of an adequate supply of water for them. A few Masai camped near Lake Magadi and obtained water from the Magadi Soda Company for which they paid five rupees daily. Mr. E. D. Browne, the Political Officer at Kajiado, approached the Company with a view to the provision of water troughs at suitable points along the Magadi Water Supply Line from the Ngong Hills, and in September the erection of certain water troughs was sanctioned the work to be

undertaken by the Company. An agreement was signed on November 3rd, 1915, providing for the erection of four troughs at various points of the Magadi Railway at which the Masai were to be allowed to water their herds on payment of five rupees per thousand head per day. By December nothing had been done and the country became very dry: by January the short rains having failed, the water supply was regarded as insufficient to support the maintenance of troughs and the work was held over.

C48*

33. Early in June, 1915, a determined attempt was made by some of the Purko Murran to return to Laikipia with their stock in defiance of Government orders. Mr. Hemsted threatened to take active measures to stop the movement if persisted in, and with the help of Legalishu, Masikondi and some of the principal Murran, he persuaded them to abandon their intention before they had arrived within thirty miles of the boundary.

Attempt to return to Laikipia, June, 1915.

Rumours to the effect that such a movement was projected reached Nairobi on June 17th, and steps were immediately taken to garrison the railway line. A double company of 2nd Kashmiri Rifles was despatched to Gilgil on June 21st, and Mr. E. D. Browne accompanied them as Political Officer. As no renewed attempt appeared probable, orders for the return of these troops were given on the 1st of July.

34. In July, 1915, the Purko Murran of the Il Merisho, L'Aimer, Kisaruni and Mejuali sections and some Murran of the Kakonyukye division made an incursion into German East Africa and captured from seven hundred to one thousand head of cattle and a number of sheep from the neighbouring tribes. They lost about 120 men killed.

Raid into German territory, July, 1915.

C48*
[921]

This raid was undertaken as a reprisal for a raid made by a German party in the previous month in the course of which some 300 head of cattle were looted and six Murran of the Damat division killed.

Some of the Purko and Loita Murran were called in by the Intelligence Officer-in-Charge of that part of the border with the object of recovering the cattle raided by the enemy. These were joined by the rest of the Purko and some of the Kakonyukye. They entered German territory with the ostensible purpose of recovering their stock but actually to raid when favourable opportunities offered. In view of the provocation received, His Excellency decided that no action should be taken against the Murran concerned.

37. In August, 1915, some Masai Murran who were searching the country in the neighbourhood of the Isuria Escarpment, in an endeavour to trace the origin of some Germans recently found near Sotik, attacked the Uregi location of the South Kavirondo district. One Masai was killed.

Attack on Uregi, August, 1915.

38. In September, 1915, a party of about two hundred mounted men including fifty Europeans crossed the border from German East Africa near Lemingio and penetrated northwards as far as Narosura. They remained in the Loita country for a week and then returned towards Karungwo. They committed no acts of aggression and it would appear that the object of their visit was a political one.

German raid, September, 1915.

39. In December, 1915, a party of Germans with a large number of native levies raided the villages of Ole Pere (Purko) and Ole Lemlanga (Damat) near Ol Keju Talek. They killed three Masai and wounded one, and captured about 6,000 sheep and 200 head of cattle. On their return from the raid they fell in with Mr. Hemsted's safari and captured most of his loads, killing a tribal retainer. They were fired upon and retired hastily abandoning about half the stock they had captured.

German raid, December, 1915.

40. Towards the end of 1915, four Kakonyukye and three Kaputiei Masai, armed with rifles conducted a raid against German natives and looted some 200 head of cattle. The culprits were tried at Ngong in January, 1917, and a fine of Rs. 175,000 was imposed upon them under the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance, but the case was quashed by the High Court.

Raid into German territory.

*648 Grazing concessions, December, 1915.

41. In December, 1915, the Masai reported that their grazing in the reserve between Magadi Junction and Ulu Station was finished and that their cattle were dying from want of grass. The areas round Kiu and Kajiado were required for military purposes and permission was accordingly given to the Masai to graze their cattle across the Uganda Railway between these two stations on unoccupied Government ground on condition that the cattle watered and lived in the reserve.

*648 579 921 Kakenyukye raid into German East Africa, Intelligence, January, 1916.

42. In January, 1916, the Kakenyukye Murran of the Il Mojuali "Siria," some of whom are said to have carried rifles, without provocation, crossed the Anglo-German border with the object of raiding the Nyamongo natives of German East Africa living to the north of the Mara River. They killed about fourteen of the Nyamongo, mostly women and children, and captured a considerable quantity of livestock. The Nyamongo had previously been of great assistance to Intelligence Officers posted to the Eastern Lake Area and this raid had a bad effect on their attitude towards the British. The Officer-in-Charge reported this matter to the Governor and recommended a fine of not less than 2,000 head of cattle for the reasons that the Murran had been repeatedly warned against taking such action on their own account, and that the section in question had always been troublesome and was practically the only one that had failed to give any assistance in guarding the border. As the Masai Reserve was at that time a military area the facts of the case were reported to the military authorities who approved the imposition of a fine of 2,000 head of cattle with a further 1,000 head if a number of rifles which had been handed to members of the tribe by an Intelligence Officer were not returned by the end of February. The Governor subsequently discussed the matter with the military authorities, and the fine was reduced to 1,000 head of cattle plus 500 head in respect of the rifles which had not been returned within the specified time. An attempt to collect the fine was only successful in obtaining payment of a small portion and by June 15th some 600 cattle and 300 sheep had been brought in. The fine had been paid in full before the end of 1916, and it was decided that compensation to the extent of 500 head of cattle and 600 sheep should be paid to the Nyamongo on account of the damage they had suffered. All the rifles were eventually returned and the cattle seized in respect thereof were handed back to their owners. The proceeds of the fine in this case were credited to Masai funds.

*648 Nairobi-Narok telegraph line, January, 1916.

43. In January, 1916, a telegraph line was erected by the military authorities between Narok and Kisuretsita station to assist in the rapid transmission of intelligence reports. In June, 1917, the military authorities having expressed their desire to remove the line, the Governor-in-Council decided that it should be maintained as far as possible as a civil line by the Officer-in-Charge of the reserve.

Fine imposed on Il Ajubori Murran, January, 1916.

44. In January, 1916, the Sighirari Murran were fined three hundred bullocks by the military authorities for failing to report the presence of an enemy bombing party near their village.

Application for a collective fine on the L'Otayuk division, March, 1916.

45. In March, 1916, a recommendation was made that a fine should be levied under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on the members of the L'Otayuk division on the grounds that they had harboured a criminal. No fine was imposed owing to the lack of definite evidence.

*648 579 922 Raid into German territory, April, 1916.

46. Early in 1916 a joint raid instigated by the Salei division was carried out against the Soit Pese in German East Africa by Murran from the Sighirari, Salei, Il Dalo Lekutuk and Matapato divisions. Some ninety-nine of the Murran were armed with rifles and in the course of the raid thirteen were killed and eighteen wounded. This raid was instigated partly as a reprisal for the German raid described in Incident No. 24, the cattle taken on that raid being supposed to be at Soit Pese. Between three hundred and three hundred and fifty head of cattle were recovered. The Officer-in-Charge applied for a fine to be imposed on these divisions to the extent of Rs. 20,000, but the Governor-in-Council ruled that, in view of the gross provocation suffered by these divisions no action should be taken until their future behaviour had been observed.

Immigration of Salei Murran, May, 1916.

47. In April and May, 1916, about one hundred Masai, of the Salei division, moved from the farm of a German named Reinertzagl, in the neighbourhood of Kerungoro, in German East Africa, and took up their residence in Loita country

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
Dotobo FL6

M
648*
579
172

under the aegis of the medicine-man Sendeu, with their stock, numbering some 2,000 head of cattle, and ten to twelve thousand sheep. These Masai were subsequently found to be in the possession of seven rifles, the property of Herr Schlesinger, which were recovered and destroyed by the Assistant District Commissioner, Nanuk.

Cattle theft by the Masai from the Kikuyu.

48. In June, 1918, a series of eleven cattle thefts from the Kikuyu were reported as having taken place, presumably by Masai, between June, 1918, and April, 1918. In three of these instances, the persons implicated were arrested and convicted, but, in the majority, the looted stock was traced to the Masai Reserve and not recovered. Sixty-nine head of cattle had been taken altogether, but only six head had been returned, and the Provincial Commissioner of the Ukamba Province considered that compensation should be paid to the Kikuyu in consideration of their losses. As the information respecting these alleged thefts was too scanty to admit of any fine being imposed on the Masai without further investigation, Mr. Hobley was instructed to hold an enquiry into the circumstances of each case. As a result of his investigations, he considered the case against the Masai to be strong enough to warrant the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, and in this opinion the Attorney-General concurred, adding that, in view of the large number of stock stolen from the Kikuyu, the fine might be of an exemplary character. He suggested that the amount and the incidence of the fine might be decided after consultation with the Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. Hemsted, however, thought that insufficient evidence had been forthcoming to prove the complicity of the Masai tribe as a whole, and recommended that a fine of Rs. 1,000 be imposed on the village of Kithombo, and of Rs. 500 on the village of Lokorio, to which villages, situated in the Kedong Valley, stolen cattle had actually been traced. He also suggested that the proceeds should be distributed to the Kikuyu in compensation for lost cattle. This course received the support and approval of the Governor-in-Council on the 11th of September, 1918.

Murders on the Kisii road, July, 1918.

49. Two persons were killed on a road between Kisii and the Masai Reserve, in July, 1918, and some rupees were stolen. An application for the imposition of a collective fine on the Kimaruni "Siriti" of the Purko Masai, based on the ground that these Masai were the only warriors near the scene of the outrage, was disallowed on account of the fact that the road in question was much frequented, and that there was nothing to show that any members of the Masai tribe were responsible for the murders.

D
648
599

Raids by Wanderobo.

50. In September, 1918, it was ascertained that the Wanderobo had committed a number of stock thefts in the Ikoma district, after the Intelligence Officers had left the border. Several Wanderobo were killed in one attempted raid. The Wanderobo concerned were arrested and punished by the District Commissioner, Mara.

M
648*
599

Murder of two natives near Nanuk, November, 1918.

51. On the 19th of November, 1918, two Indian traders, travelling on the main road some seven miles from Nanuk, found two bodies of Kikuyu natives lying near the road. These Kikuyu had been murdered and were quite dead when found. They had several wounds on their persons, evidently inflicted by spears and knives. One of the murdered Kikuyu was recognised immediately as the servant of an Indian trader, at Nanuk, and both had been carrying loads when they met their death. Investigations were immediately instituted by the District Commissioner, Nanuk, but nothing definite was discovered. In February, 1919, evidence was brought against two Moran, who had been wandering in the vicinity at the time of the crime, but this was insufficient to justify further proceedings being taken against them.

At the end of April, the headmen of the Moran living in the neighbourhood were called on to explain what steps they had taken to find the murderers. The scene of the murder was greatly frequented by the Moran of the three Purko "Siriti," named Kimaruni, L'Aimer and Mejauli, and, as no evidence was brought by any members of these "Siriti," respecting the murders, the District Commissioner recommended the imposition of a fine under the Collective Punishments Ordinance on all three companies.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

726 791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

721 791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

669 791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

561 791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position, it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il *Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

791 the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the In-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kaputie at Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kisonko, Il-Aikipiak, Il-Wuasin-kishu and Sambur also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[31] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical focus for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 39). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

721 624 When the warriors of a *sirit* wanted to raid, they approached their *ol-aiguenani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*ol-orora*) was intended. The *il-aiguenak* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon 726 consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in song after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-puli* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective; Thomson was told that a Masai 727 patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-oo-rok-kitey* and *il-oo-do-moyi*, "the black ox" and "the red oxen," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *ol-wuampa*, carried out locally by one *sirit*, were not referred to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

726 578 Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kaputie, the other of the Il-Aikipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, cheered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline 701 was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Gorged with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, [714] shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

727 Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, 728 women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

[31] Fosbrooke, pp. 15-17.

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	• 721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ resi-
[466] dence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered
[361] still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mahgá, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
• [721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

/10 cont./

000 superstition and belief in spirits are to be found in the grossest forms, just as all the crimes resulting from these, such as abortion, infanticide, etc., are everyday occurrences. But
648 even a people standing culturally higher than the Masai, with
• 721 their absolutely quite low culture, would never have arrived at a dominant position peacefully living side by side. The means of attaining it were the wars waged constantly and ruthlessly. Their daring raids greatly impressed the Negroes, which
[197] is why the latter, in order to be taken for Masai themselves and to be feared as such, adopted their attire on war expeditions.
144 The involuntary admission into these Negro tribes on the part
197 of many Masai women and children, who often fell victim to their neighbors during the constant wars, as well as the compulsory intercourse of those who found help and refuge among the adjacent agriculturalists when the periodically recurring epidemics had carried off their livestock, created circumstances
000 that took shape in the direction of a general Masaization. To the young Negroes the free, lazy existence of the Masai warriors, devoted only to war and raids, seemed worth aspiring to, and the girls found the handsome slender Masai figures more desirable /11/ than the men of their own tribe, who, in their often hideously ugly and wild Negroishness and through the frequently total lack of care of skin and body, stand in coarse contrast to the agreeable, often finely chiseled, and handsome features and the shapely limbs of the former. Thus the Masai
144 gave much of their blood to other tribes, and today in almost all
197 the peoples who have come into close contact with them one finds figures which at first glance one could take for pure Masai.

175
619 /20 cont./
791 understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thou-
727 sands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines,
466 men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisongo, lying
[466]

791
301
291

Merker phot.

175
619
791
727
466
[462]
175
648
721

Ill. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

175
791
755

The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/73 cont./

561 634 [791] [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

56| /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem =
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (eñ giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/78 cont./

714 531 [822] These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1),

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs [386] [824] stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, [239] pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

714 531 721 178 [648] [669] Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

714 531 A shield escutcheon (Plate 1)[2] may contain: 1. the red warrior-emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oño), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1, [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
2, [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

/81 cont./

714 531 613 [561] The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el meruturut age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1890. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of compeers of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individual belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils, in accordance with the principle: might comes before right. The emblem of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

714 531 [703] Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigeloni, have the right to carry the emblem of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 of Plate 1. It is still commonly used today.

[704] The last emblem that may be included in the shield escutcheon is the one mentioned above as the section emblem. By section is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate 1, shows an example. These represent the escutcheons of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different sections.

714 531 178 It is also to be mentioned that both the shield escutcheon as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fancied, sometimes garishness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield escutcheons of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /82/ one can observe almost daily on the Masai steppes that [721]

714
531
178
[721]
[197]

/82 cont./
nowadays the warriors, out of boastfulness, go on using shields, with unaltered escutcheons, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Masai type, and, to be sure, with similar escutcheons, is a consequence of the above-mentioned Masaization.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Masai people or, with the present discord, even those of other Masai.

714
53
701
561

The shields of the el barnot, the recruits, do not appear as gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 8). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former speaker of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

701
714
531
411

Merker phot.

Ill. 30. Shield escutcheons of young warriors.

/82 cont./

714 70 531 561 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the same time.

578 [591] [721] 70 561 [53] [714]

[Warrior Kraal]

224 /91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also
701 leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

• 721 If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (ol aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the ol aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the ol oiboni is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

[626] 1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the ol aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones el konono, [578] that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

721 If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority
726 make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorosi, a sort of
714 Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaiti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock. Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721
726
791
[264]

/93 cont./
forest meal (1),

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/97 cont./

726 704 [727] emouerak (sing. ol emouo) = horns. As soon as the ones in front come across livestock, they call the others by long drawn-out él shouts, so that they will round up the booty, which consists only of livestock. While the el aroi engage in hand-to-hand combat with the opponent, the latter's troops, joining together, seek to wrest the

726 782

Merker phot.

Ill. 39. Prayer before the battle.

726 704 booty away from the el dimito again. In connection with this fighting there are the most wounded and killed. In order to shorten it and take the livestock quickly to safety, the latter are constantly urged on by the el dimito and pushed toward the steppe, out of the hostile area. The fourth troop, the el kigelóni, seeks to keep the way open for them and, from the front, to disperse the enemy pressing upon the herd. The last division is the os sioki, that is, the cowards, who were afraid to go along with the others, but now, when there is no longer any danger, slink around the herd like animals of prey, in order to steal. The el dimito and el kigelóni strike at them with their clubs, and a great row arises until the arrival of the leaders in the camp. [727] Then the latter separate a number of cattle from the herd, which is still common property, and have them slaughtered, whereupon every warrior receives a portion of meat. The warriors /98/ must 727 417 lay out a fence of thorns so that the livestock is safely sheltered in it for the night.

/99 cont./

722 782 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her 722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he risked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely [576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their [573] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this [721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/101 cont./

726 725 boys, who flee immediately upon the approach of the enemy. Half of the warriors are hidden at the rear of the larger one, while the other half lies in wait toward the front and to one side of the front herd. The enemy first takes possession of the front herd, some of them attempt to drive it away immediately, while the rest try to reach the rear one. Now the moment has come for the Masai warriors to burst forth at both places.

• [721] The fact that the Masai so frequently attack with great success and often strike down to the last man even trade caravans armed with muzzle-loaders they owe nowadays less to their strength than to their cunning. A caravan traveling through the steppes will today be joined by a pair of seemingly poor, hungry Masai, who greet the porters in a friendly way and willingly give them information about the next camping place, etc. Incidentally, but with all the fabricated details possible, it is related that the Masai had recently been in the vicinity, but had now moved off and were camping far from here. After the two have eaten with the porters in the evening, one of them disappears during the night and reports to the warriors of his kraal what has been discovered. Before dawn he is back in the camp and the two travel on with the caravan, having by now become friendly with its men. There are found again the next day two or three "poor" Masai, who pass themselves off as Wandorobbo -- as the first also often do. They have brought along their alleged entire possessions, consisting of a few rhinoceros horns, to sell or even as gifts. They too remain with the caravan: they eat, chat, and joke with the porters and on this occasion reveal a keen understanding in recognizing how far the latter trust them, whether they feel quite safe, etc. If they believe the caravan is quite unconcerned, one of the Masai guests, on this or the next night, fetches the warriors, who then, as a rule, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, when the porters are sleeping most soundly, attack the camp and without difficulty massacre the sleepers.

/101 cont./

726
721 As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, seriously intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary, in a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

728
648 If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive these people, so that no difficulty /102/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (ol gojeta, el gojet = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, ol gomdai, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (ol dogirio en ngua = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (ol memal). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants swear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, about which both parties convince themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai deceive foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with respect to Europeans. Those concerned simply believed that a blood friendship coming about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with sedentary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But since in this case it is a mere pretense, there is suggested the conjecture that this is a matter of a custom that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

/164 cont./

231 Two breeds are distinguished, a shorter and stockier one and a longer-
[613] legged, thinner one. The latter is allegedly found only among the El barsegero lineages.

233 Among the goats a small breed and a large one can be distin-
• [821] guished. The Masai have obtained the latter only through raiding expeditions in Pare, Unyamwesi, etc.; the true Masai goats are small. All have medium long, smooth hair, a markedly projecting forehead, and lop ears. The horns are usually only an inch long and have tips turned back somewhat. Among bucks they are larger, but also only rarely seven to eight inches. /165/ The sheep are only medium-sized compared to European ones. They have curly, coarse hair. Three breeds are distinguished, a large one (eñ ger sabug = large sheep) with fat rump, a medium-sized one (eñ ger kĕtĕ = small sheep), white with black head and medium-long fat tail, and a small (eñ ger kiberoto; kiberoto = poor, paltry) breed and with a
[232] long fat tail. Among the young female animals of the last two breeds the fat tail is cropped for fear it might be obstructive to the buck during coition.

The black-headed breed is stronger in North Africa and probably degenerated here, just like the last of the three breeds, which might

Ill. 55. Masai goats and sheep.

/204 cont./

776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 781 [186] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai; all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el mɛg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés; a male individual has an ol duŋgani l Eŋg ai, a female one an eń gorojoni Eŋg ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person [795] die. The angel carries his soul /205/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

795 779 Into the other world (eń gatambó = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kopekob), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

/346 cont./

182 immorality. Rather, I should call their behavior animalistic-natural
83] and mention in this connection that the Masai, extraordinarily vain
[181] about preserving his youth, handsomeness, and physical strength, imposes upon himself wise moderation in sexual enjoyment.

182 An outstanding people-preserving factor is a strict organization.
• 721 It can make a small people superior to a larger, less well organized one, and here has given the Masai a position of power over the Negroes. A well organized people of the steppes nowhere on earth grazes its
[181] little lambs in quiet contemplation. Rather, such people are always characterized by a warlike and predatory nature. War makes itself felt here harmfully above all, since it /347/ devours great masses of men. It has often happened that only half of those who set out returned; indeed, they tell of expeditions in which all the warriors were killed. At the beginning of the nineties -- to cite one example, several thousand Masai warriors set out against Unyamwesi. They had assembled a few hours to the west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ and had as a guide an Unyamwesi man by the name of Degénja, who had lived for a long time among them. During the night before the planned attack, Degénja betrayed it to his countrymen. The Masai were repulsed with heavy losses and turned back. Far more than half of them died of hunger and thirst along the way on the twelve- to fourteen-day march. Such man killing expeditions of war are by no means rarities; rather they recur constantly in the history of the Masai. Certainly the great surplus of women is to be ascribed to them.

182 With regard to the harm that livestock epidemics (1)
731
233

1. The reason that the epidemics were so destructive around 1896 is, first of all, that two epidemics occurred in quick succession: a pulmonary epidemic and rinderpest, and, on the other hand, the renewal of the herds by war expeditions was in part made difficult, in part rendered impossible, by the military stations.

/347 cont./

182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans, I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan liked to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
• [721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

2. It is to be inserted here that empirically livestock epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Through that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
186 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /348/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher culture, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to means that we designate as

/348 cont./

121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/350 cont./

178 its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the
619 sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause
• 721 them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility
[829] for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping
livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary
[177] for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes
[164] and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal
diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among
582 the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary
178 ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who
184 is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her
165 attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it
178 must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly
182 free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over
having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself
[186] are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also
[179] brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept
[144] Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvan-
tageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place.
[648] Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At
[721] that time no European administration prevented their raiding exped-
itions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock
and women experienced in agriculture.

177 In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up
178 and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become
sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share
in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the
encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

178 We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the
177 Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who
361 have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again
after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to
live by hunting, and call themselves this.

175 [648] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Il Datwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Osopago lol Datwa" in memory of the people from whom 175 131 they took the area. In the next 15 years the Masai took the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several section and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through incursion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated 175 80,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their para- • 721 mount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Sanford (1919) and Simon (1962) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devestating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

175 but so was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organiza-
175 tion of the sections was much broken up. Many pastoral
#233 Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting or
cultivation. Some had been taken in by surrounding
tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great
many had died or been killed in the combination of famine,
[161] rinderpest, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the
population of Masai in Masailand around 1900 must have
been quite low. Its lowest ebb probably came around
1892 or 1893, and there had been some recovery in the
next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their
[648] herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by
[921] working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

175 It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would
648 have been without the intervention of the Europeans.
Those most afflicted with Masai-itis insist that the
Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have
risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held
them down and took their land. Those on the other side
say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the
protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain
their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the
extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not
anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way
of life if they were to survive.

123 medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa,"
757 medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could
*[114] not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 . The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They
829 are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often odoriferous but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as
• 721 essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped

123 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning
• 721 a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. Shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic
124 residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

*233 Social Organization: The Masai in the study
(221) area are essentially semi-nomadic pastoral people. Their
000

for Tanganyika.

561 181 (b) Age grade: The age grade system is of great importance in the life of a Masai man, since it regulates his conduct toward other men and women and is the baisis for the political organization of the tribe. The system is also of significant use in dating past events (Fosbrooke, 1954).

721 181 Warfare was of great importance to the Masai prior to the 1900's. The whole social organization of the tribe was built around the production and maintenance of an effective fighting force. Although actual fighting is relatively rare now, the customs and social organization remain basically the same.

857 *233 881 561 701 Until his early teens the primary duties of a boy are herding livestock (Fig. 9).[1] Roughly every seven years there are a series of ceremonies culminating in a circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is taken by all the young men of the correct age (roughly in their mid teens), and it produces a class of warriors each of whom is known as ol-murrani, or moran. This is considered the most important occasion in the life of a Masai man, and from then on he is a full member of the tribe. Each group to be circumsized is given an age

[1] [See p. 53.--Analyst]

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except [712] fight. They lived in a separate village, called a [562] manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the [836] unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 Ostrichs were hunted to obtain feathers [223] for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion [301] for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran [411] was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At 178 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 result is a large body of young men with absolutely 701 224 nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what 721 could be the most energetic period of their lives. [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

177 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding
178
224 to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated
561 several minor wars when we were there, and administrative
701
• 721 action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 Periodically the administration has tried
178
561 to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may
593 take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he
591 may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

178 above made it difficult to amass large herds for any
*233 long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they
[721] molest Masai livestock. Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

*233 In Narok District, for example, in April
231 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1958). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

*233
*136 Southern Asia by both Arab and Indian traders following
231 the Arab invasion of A.D. 669 and it is still spreading (Williamson and Payne, 1959).

The present cattle represent what the Masai have bought, traded, or stolen since the 1890's. Since these processes, especially the latter, are still going on, the cattle appear very mixed. One can even see an occasional Holstein among the mixed zebu in Masai herds.

*233
231
577
• 721 I should be pointed out, however, that stealing is a relative term. According to the Masai, all cattle in the world belong to them, or at least were created for them. It appears that in their way of looking at things, it is not wrong to steal if the object is a cow; they are merely rectifying an obvious administrative error. Doubtless also the excitement and danger involved in a raid appeals to bored moran who have been brought up on stories of the glories of warfare.

*136 Occasional prize steers will weigh over 1,000 pounds,
231
*233 but because of the animal husbandry practices the average weight of Masai range cattle is nearer 350 pounds. These animals require five to seven years to reach adult weight. The average liveweight gain per day is in the neighborhood of 0.3 pounds (Ledger, et. al., 1961). The cows will breed when about three and a half years old. These

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

K 701 702

in building cattle-pens and huts, herding sheep and goats and cattle, and above all, did their physical exercises which kept them fit for defence or attack. These activities were organised according to seasons. When there was plenty of work in the fields, the warriors took their full share in it and arranged their dances and songs to take place in the evenings, but when there was less work in the fields, then numerous day dances and songs were arranged. Different age-groups competed in dances, and in dexterity in throwing spears and fencing, as well as high and long jumps.

The Cause of Tribal Warfare

M K 721

Let us consider for a moment the reason why the tribal wars were fought. The main cause of friction between tribes, especially in Kenya, was economic. There was no war of annexation of territory or subjection of one tribe to another. The fights which were carried on from time to time between various tribes, such as the Masai, the Gikuyu and the Wakamba, can hardly be called " wars," because all fights were in the nature of armed raids. For example, when cattle disease invaded the Masai country and reduced their livestock below minimum, the Masai, whose lives depended entirely on meat, milk, and blood of the animals, were forced by necessity to raid the stock of their neighbours or die of hunger and starvation. In order to save their livelihood, spies were sent out to investigate how a successful raid could be carried out, and in what district in the neighbouring tribes the stock were abundant and least protected.

M 721 726

M 726

After the spies had reported a raid was at once organised, and the warriors set out to get food for the tribe. Sometimes it took days to cover a short distance, for the raiding party

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,